

NEW FRONTIERS

• PERIODICAL STUDIES IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS •

Looking Forward

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

With the assistance of

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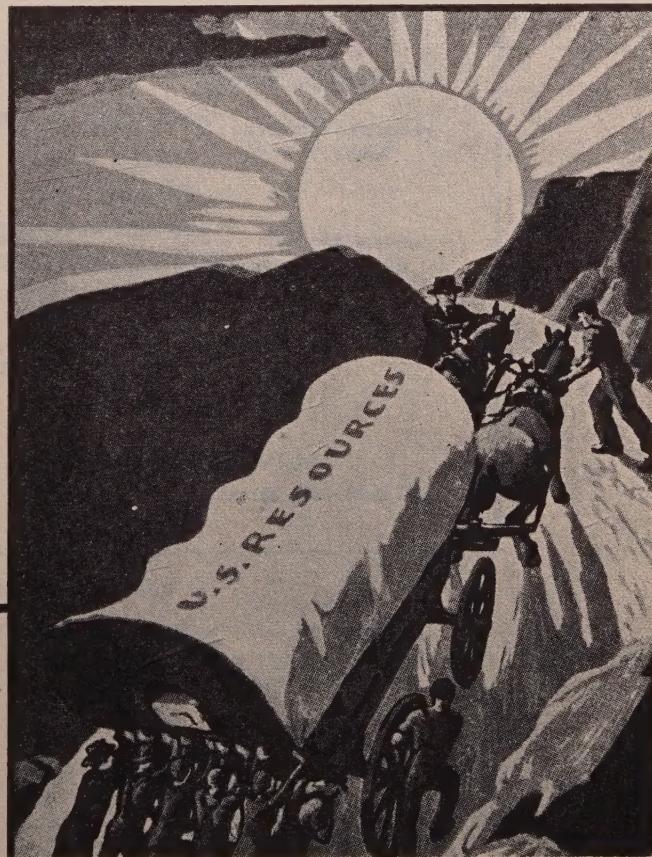
CHARLES A. ENGVALL

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... the 1937 discussion
outlines . . . with an in-
troduction by John Dewey
... suggestions for study
and action . . . with sug-
gested readings. . . .

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THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY is a membership society engaged in education toward a social order based on production for use and not for profit. To this end the League conducts research, lecture and information services, suggests practical plans for increasing social control, organizes city chapters, publishes books and pamphlets on problems of industrial democracy, and sponsors conferences, forums, luncheon discussions and radio talks in leading cities where it has chapters.

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VOL. IV • NO. 7

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Looking Forward

Outlines for Discussion and Action

1937

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By HARRY W. LAIDLER

With the assistance of

DIRK J. STRUIK
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THE NEED FOR CONSTRUCTIVE THINKING based on adequate knowledge was never greater than at the present time. It is imperative with respect to both domestic and international issues. Every passing day makes more evident the truth of the statement that "the world of which we are a part is engaged in a race between education and catastrophe." In international matters the world war ended the illusion that the United States is so isolated that it can go its own way without regard to what is happening in the rest of the world. As I write, the danger of a world war is imminent. The forces that involved us in the last war are still active. There is danger that the idea will grow that the way in which we can best cooperate with other nations is through war and direct political entanglement. Clear thinking as to the means by which we can cooperate in other ways for the cause of world order and peace is urgent.

There is no need to dwell upon the seriousness of our domestic problems. Politicians are ready to inflame public opinion for the sake of some party advantage and by methods that are fatal to clear and constructive thought and policies. The problems are so complex that it is comparatively easy to arouse emotion at the expense of intelligent insight and programs of action. Moreover, it is not enough that there be correct knowledge and sound ideas but there must be organization for action to put these ideas into effect.

The L.I.D. through its lectures and discussion as well as in other ways is doing, and doing upon a high level, necessary spare work in promoting knowledge, constructive thought, and organization. It is one of the chief forces making for a genuinely prepared citizenship. It is a personal satisfaction and an honor to commend to public attention its sixth annual course of lecture discussion given by men who treat their respective subjects with candor and insight based upon long study and authoritative knowledge.

JOHN DEWEY

New York City
October, 1936

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Program for Study and Action

DEMOCRACY in action occurs wherever people discuss social and economic issues intelligently. The following outlines contain suggestions for discussion and for any action which may grow out of the study. The League for Industrial Democracy will appreciate being informed of the work done by discussion groups. The League will also appreciate the courtesy of receiving stamped and self-addressed envelopes in connection with inquiries about suggested readings and projects.

These outlines may be used in three ways:

1. As an individual stimulus and guide to thinking, reading and study on the six lecture subjects.
2. As a handbook for group discussion with workers, students, church classes, clubs, and other groups.
3. As a springboard for lively mental evenings at home with friends or family used in the manner of "Ask Me Another."

Request your local city and school librarians to reserve special L.I.D. shelves for the books listed in the bibliographies. Perhaps it will be necessary to ask that these books be purchased!

Sometimes these outlines are the forerunner of the League for Industrial Democracy lecture series. A thoughtful study of the outlines will stimulate interest in the lectures and raise many questions for the discussion hour which follows.

I. The New Technology—Poverty or Plenty?

About 90 years ago Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels vividly called attention to the technological developments that were even then taking place under capitalism. "Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?"

Since these words were uttered we have passed through the age of steam and have entered the age of electricity. The means of transportation have been revolutionized. The productivity of the machine has been increased many fold. Scientific management has greatly added to our power to produce and distribute the good things of life. Engineering science has advanced immeasurably. An increasing number of students are maintaining that, if we utilized the resources, machinery, power and skilled labor at our hand, we could abolish poverty from our midst and ensure a life of comfort to the masses. But we have failed to eliminate poverty and we are facing lives of ever greater insecurity.

How can we utilize our new technology to the end that we may bring comfort and leisure to all? That is one of the great questions before us today.

Questions for Individual and Group Discussion

1. How may technology be defined? How does the technological revolution differ from other types of industrial revolution?
2. What are some of the important inventions of the last 15 years that have materially affected the lives of the underlying population?
3. How has the technological process affected capital, customs, government, education, economics, industrial concentration, labor?
4. How much more can the average worker in America produce today than at the beginning of our country? What is the annual in-

come of the country today? What was it in 1929? Is this income sufficient, if equitably distributed, to guarantee a standard of health and decency to the masses? How could this income be increased?

5. How much of our available equipment was utilized during the twenties? During the depression? How much could we produce if we utilized all of our productive equipment and eliminated the wastes of competitive industry?
6. Why are we not now utilizing our machinery in this way? What part does the present inequality of wealth and income and our rising debt structure play in our growing insecurity?
7. To what extent is our new technology increasing the destructive forces of modern civilization?
8. What is technocracy? What are its good and weak points?
9. Is it necessary to evolve to a cooperative system of industry if our new technology is to bring security and abundance to the masses? If so, what would be the nature of this cooperative order? In what respects, if at all, does the introduction of technological improvements in the Soviet Union differ from that in other countries? What is Stakhanovism? How does it differ from Taylorism?

Projects for Action

1. Make a survey of new machinery and new techniques in scientific management recently installed in a local representative factory. Study effect of such innovations on productivity, profits, wages, hours and employment.
2. Arrange a tour of a factory-workers' residential district. Observe conditions in housing, playground space, traffic hazards, health, etc. Interview people. Discuss and write findings.
3. Discuss staging a labor play in simple fashion. For drama information write Affiliated Schools for Workers, 302 East 35th Street, New York City.

Suggested Readings

● Books

Angell, Norman. *From Chaos to Control*. Century. 1933.

Baker, E. F. *Displacement of Men by Machines*. Columbia University. 1933.

Beard, Charles A. and others. *Whither Mankind?* Longmans, Green. 1928.

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Briffault, R. *Breakdown*. Coward McCann. 1935.

Chase, Stuart. *The Tragedy of Waste*. Macmillan. 1925.

Men and Machines. Macmillan. 1929.

The Nemesis of American Business. Macmillan. 1931.

Technocracy, an Interpretation. John Day. 1933.

The Economy of Abundance. Macmillan. 1934.

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Elliott, William Y. *The Need for Constitutional Reform*. McGraw-Hill. 1935.

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Hobson, J. A. *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*. Macmillan. 1926.

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Jerome, Harry. *The Mechanization of Industry*. National Bureau of Economic Research. 1934.

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Loeb, Harold, and Associates. *The Chart of Plenty*. Viking. 1935.

Marx, Karl. *Capital I, II, III* (1867-1894) and
 Value, Price and Profit (1865). International Publishers. 1935.

Mills, Frederick C. *Economic Tendencies*. National Bureau of Economic Research. 1932.

Mumford, Lewis. *Technics and Civilization*. Harcourt. 1934.

National Bureau of Economic Research. *Recent Economic Changes in the U. S.*
 2 vols. N. B. E. R. 1929.

Nearing, Scott. *Must Men Starve?* Vanguard. 1932.

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Polakov, W. N. *The Power Age*. Covici. 1933.

Prokofyev, V. V. *Industrial and Technical Intelligentsia in the U. S. S. R.* Cooperative Publishing Co. Foreign Workers, Moscow, Leningrad. 1933.

Pollak, Katherine H. and Tippett, Tom. *Your Job and Your Pay*. Brookwood Labor Series. Vanguard. 1931.

Randall, John H. Jr. *Our Changing Civilization*. Stokes. 1929.
Rautenstrauch, Walter. *Who Gets the Money?* Harper. 1934.
Rochester, Anna. *Rulers of America*. International Publishers. 1936
Rugg, Harold O. *The Great Technology*. John Day Co. 1933.
Salter, Sir Arthur J. *Modern Mechanization*. Oxford University. 1933.
Scott, Howard and others. *Introduction to Technocracy*. John Day. 1933.
Stalin, J. *Report to the 17 Congress of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R.* International Publishers. 1934.
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Strachey, John. *The Coming Struggle for Power*. Covici. 1933.
The Nature of Capitalist Crisis. Covici. 1935.
Taylor, T. W. *The Principles of Scientific Management*. 1911.
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Thomas, Norman. *Human Exploitation in the U. S.* Stokes. 1934.
Thompson, Carl D. *The Confessions of the Power Trust*. Dutton. 1932.
Vasilevsky, E. M. *The Land of Inventors*. Coop. Pub. Co. Foreign Workers, Moscow. Leningrad. 1933.
Veblen, Thorstein. *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization*. Huebsch. 1919.
The Engineers and the Price System. Huebsch. 1921.
Zimmerman, E. W. *World Resources and Industries*. Harper. 1933.

● **Pamphlets and Periodicals**

A List of Books on Social Reconstruction (non-fiction, fiction, biography, verse, drama). The Book Group.
America's Capacity to Produce and to Consume. (Digest of Brookings' Reports.) Falk Foundation.
Bulletin. National Bureau of Economic Research.
Chase, Stuart. *Technocracy*. (John Day Pamphlets.)
Henderson, Fred. "The Case for Socialism." Socialist Party of America.
Evans, J. G. "Capitalism—An Obsolete Tool?" *Social Forces*. March, 1935.
Income and Economic Progress and others. Public Affairs Committee.
Men and Machines. (Building America Series.) Society for Curriculum Study.
Loeb, Harold. *Production for Use*. Basic Books.
Ogburn, W. F. *You and Machines*. (American Primers.) Also Public Policy Pamphlets. University of Chicago.
Person, H. S. "A Plan for Planning." *Common Sense*. October, 1936.
Report. National Resources Board. Government Printing Office.
Rich Man, Poor Man and others. People's League for Economic Security.
Who Gets the Wealth We Produce and others. Educational Research Project.

II. Is Health the Public's Business?

The Case for Socialized Medicine

"Civilized countries have arrived at two decisions from which there will be no retreat, although their full realization in experience has nowhere been completely achieved. In the first place, the health of every individual is a social concern and responsibility; and, secondly, as following from this, medical care in its widest sense for every individual is an essential condition of maximum efficiency and happiness in a civilized community."

—SIR ARTHUR NEWSHOLME IN "Medicine and the State"

ONE OF the most important questions before the people of the country is how the health of the people of the United States can best be conserved. Ask most people what they regard as their richest possession and they will answer, "Health." Today a considerable proportion of the population is physically defective. "For the hundreds suffering from specific diseases, thousands are rendered inefficient for their various occupations because of common colds, constipation, headaches, rheumatism and other minor ailments."

Gainfully employed workers on the average probably lose more than eight days a year from illness disabilities. Of the million workers who die each year, it is probably true (estimated the Hoover Engineers some years ago) that the death of at least one-half is postponable by proper medical supervision, periodical examination, health education and commercial hygiene. The economic loss from preventable disease and death is from two to five billions of dollars.

Sickness and health reflect economic conditions. Infant mortality is three times as great among families of the lowest paid wage-earning families as among those of higher income levels.

The poor become sick. The sick, in turn, become poor. Less than one-tenth of our people are now able to put aside in times of health a sufficient amount to pay for proper medical care in times of serious illness.

In view of this situation, an increasing number of people maintain that society must use all of the facilities at its command to preserve the health of those who are well, and to cure the sick. Public health ex-

penditure in a socialized health service, it is contended, would yield dividends in terms of reduction of preventable illness and death from 100 to 3000 per cent. Whether or not this contention is correct, the subject of socialized health service should be considered with the utmost seriousness.

Questions for Individual and Group Discussion

1. What is the extent of preventable sickness and death in the United States at the present time? What are the dental needs?
2. What preventive and curative health services are provided today in your community by private, charitable and public agencies? What services are provided in the United States and abroad?
3. What are the unmet medical needs in all fields of private and public service?
4. What chance has the average wage-earning and salary-earning family to budget and pay for medical care out of income?
5. What are the economic conditions of doctors, dentists and nurses? Are they underpaid? Under-employed? How is the health personnel of the nation distributed?
6. What conflicts are developing between private practice and maximum community health service? Do the increasing expensiveness of equipment, the growing specialization of the medical profession, and the increasingly collective nature of medical science necessitate the development of a socialized medical system?
7. What has been done along these lines in Canada, Great Britain, Scandinavia, and Russia? What type of socialized medicine is best adapted to the United States? How does health insurance fit into this plan?
8. What opinion on a socialized public health program is held by medical and dental associations, social workers, medical teachers, drug and medical supply interests, etc.?
9. Is it true, as many claim, that physicians would not have sufficient incentive to do their best work within a socialized medical framework? Which have done more for medical and surgical science? those interested primarily in fees or those interested in public service? Illustrate.

10. What have been the recent changes in the attitude of organized labor toward collective responsibility for health?
11. What should be the immediate program of labor, farmers and progressive groups with a view to providing an adequate health service for everyone?

Projects for Action

1. Make a survey of medical services available to small income and unemployed groups in local community. If inadequate, consult health officer, county medical association, social workers and above groups.
2. Ascertain what specific clinics (mental and social hygiene, cancer, handicapped children, etc.) are needed locally. Take further steps in meeting need.
3. Investigate interest in group health insurance plans or in medical cooperatives.

Suggested Readings

● Books

American Academy of Political and Social Science. *The Medical Profession and the Public*. 1934.

Armstrong, Barbara N. *Insuring the Essentials*. Section II, "Social Health Insurance." Macmillan. 1932.

Clark, Evans. *How to Budget Health*. Twentieth Century Fund. 1934.

Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. *The Medical Care for the American People*. University of Chicago. 1932.

Encyclopedia of The Social Sciences. Articles on "Medicine," "Public Health," etc.

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Warbasse, James P. *The Doctor and the Public*. Harper. 1935.

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A Picture Book about the Costs of Medical Care. Julius Rosenwald Fund.

American Association for Social Security. Publications of

Aspinwall, George W. "A Plea for Socialized Medicine." *American Mercury*. September, 1934.

Bulletins. United States Public Health Service.

"Buying Health." Special issue. *Survey Graphic*. December, 1934.

Diran, Mary. "Some Unmet Needs of Relief Clients for Medical Service." *Social Service Review*. December, 1935.

Falk, I. S. "Health Sickness and Social Security." *National Municipal Review*. April, 1936.

Foster, William T. and others. *A Debate on a Complete Public Health Service*. University of Missouri.

Journal. Medical League for Socialized Medicine. Also "Statement of Principles and Program."

Kingsbury, John A. "Health Insurance Menaced by Medical Politics." *Labor Legislation Review*. March, 1936.

Parran, Thomas Jr. "Health Security." *Journal*. American Public Health Association. April, 1936.

Rorty, James. "Medicine's Horse and Buggy." *The Forum*. July, 1936.

Twentieth Century Fund. Publications of

Warbasse, James P. *Cooperative Medicine*. The Cooperative League.

III. The White Collar Worker Enters the Labor Movement

YEARS ago, when the word "worker" was used, most people thought of "horny handed sons of toil," men in blue denim shirts and overalls engaged in strenuous manual labor.

Today there are still millions of manual workers, but there are also increasing millions of "white collar workers," whose work in the offices, in stores, "on the road" as salesmen and in the professions, is primarily of a non-manual nature. Alfred Bingham estimates that there were 8,000,000 of them in 1930. As they go to and from their business, there is on the surface little to distinguish most of them from the so-called owning class.

Economically, however, most of the white collar workers are in essentially the same situation as are those engaged in manual work. They may receive a salary, rather than a wage, but the salary is often much lower than that of the organized wage-earner. They are equally insecure in their tenure of office. They are as essential to the smooth functioning of modern industry as the skilled and unskilled manual worker in factory, mine and mill. They are not employed unless they give promise of making a profit for the owners of industry. They are exploited by the system to an extent similar to that of other workers.

Despite these facts, up to recent times the white collar worker has failed to organize to better his conditions. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The workers have often been in intimate personal contact with their employers, and have been led to believe that their interests were on the side of the employing class. Many have felt that, in a few years, they would be able to leave the ranks of the workers and rise to those of the owners. Others have felt that they could obtain better results for themselves through personal appeals to the bosses for an increase in their salaries rather than through collective action.

In spite of these psychological factors economic realities are forcing white collar workers to turn more and more to organization along trade union lines. Retail clerks formed a national union as early as 1890, and the musicians followed their example six years later. The American Federation of Teachers was chartered in 1916, and in the following year the National Federation of Federal Employees was organized. Actors, office workers, newspaper employees, technicians,

hospital employees, ministers and other professional people are among other white collar groups that have formed unions. Most of these unions have affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Some of them have distinguished themselves by their support of progressive policies.

Ever larger numbers of white collar workers—the new middle class—are likewise allying themselves with various political and educational working class organizations dedicated to fundamental economic change.

Many students of social conditions maintain that this movement is one of fundamental importance. They look abroad and see the middle class in Central Europe forming an alignment with fascist forces, aiding in the success of fascism and then being victimized by the fascist dictatorship after it achieves power. One of the best ways of avoiding fascism in the United States, they maintain, is to bring about an alignment between the manual working class and the white collar worker for the purpose of maintaining the democratic rights already achieved through long years of struggle, and of bringing about a cooperative order under which democracy will be the rule in both industry and politics. What place the American white collar worker is likely to take in this coming alignment it is now too early to say.

Questions for Individual and Group Discussion

1. What has been the role of the middle class in American economic, political, and social life? Is the middle class increasing in relative numbers and influence, or is it destined to sink into the ranks of wage and salaried workers?
2. What part has the middle class played in the rise of fascism in Germany? In other countries? Is there danger of a fascist movement in the United States?
3. What are the relations between white collar workers and small business men and professional workers? Do they differ in psychology? In economic status?
4. How do manual and white collar workers compare in wages, hours, and working conditions? Where the former possess an advantage, is it due to superior organization? Are the techniques

developed by industrial workers for improving conditions applicable to white collar workers? May unions, strikes, picketing, and collective agreements be used as effectively by white collar workers as by manual workers?

5. To what extent have unions been formed in your locality among office workers, teachers, newspaper writers, government employees? Are any technicians, social workers, or professional workers organized? What can you do to help in the formation of such organizations?
6. How severe has unemployment been among white collar workers? What has been their experience under W.P.A.? Is there a branch of the Workers' Alliance in your community, and are the white-collared unemployed and W.P.A. workers affiliated with it?
7. What has been the effect of technological advance upon the employment opportunities of musicians? How has improved office machinery affected the office workers?
8. Should teachers become a part of the labor movement, or should they join only professional associations? If they join the American Federation of Teachers, will the quality of public education suffer or improve? Should unions of teachers possess the right to strike? What of other governmental employees? Should social workers, librarians, nurses, engineers, ministers, and similar groups join professional associations only, or form organizations with protective purposes?
9. What success has the American Newspaper Guild had in increasing its membership, winning strikes, and obtaining higher pay and shorter hours? Do you share the fear of many publishers that freedom of the press will be impaired if they sign Guild contracts, and that news will thereafter be written only from a labor point of view? Do you agree with the publishers that reporters should be above the labor struggle, in order to report news impartially?
10. How should the white collar group work for peace? For civil liberties? For a cooperative order?

Projects for Action

1. Arrange a forum meeting for a special white collar group to discuss advisability of unionization.
2. Circulate questionnaire among local teachers, newspaper men, stenographers and others about their attitude on membership in their respective unions. Tabulate results. Call meeting of those interested in unions and discuss action.
3. Secure information from the Inter-Professional Association, 130 East 22nd Street, New York City. Discuss its local implications for lawyers, architects, and other professional groups.

Suggested Readings

● Books

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Bingham, Alfred M. *Insurgent America: Revolt of the Middle Classes*. Harper. 1935.

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Palm, Franklin C. *The Middle Classes: Then and Now*. Macmillan. 1936.

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Pell, Orlie. *The Office Worker—Labor's Side of the Ledger*.

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Rabinovitz, Maurice. "Trade Unions and Office Workers." *American Federationist*. October, 1936.

Scribner, John. "The News Writers Form a Union." *Nation*. June 20, 1934.

Stafford, Paul T. "Social Workers Form a Pressure Group," in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for May, 1935.

Student Advocate. American Student Union.

The College Teacher and the Trade Union. American Federation of Teachers.

IV. Without Due Process of Law

Vigilante Rule—The Ku Klux Klan

IN VARIOUS stages in the history of the United States, as Leon Whipple so well brings out in his *Story of Civil Liberties in the United States*, secret organizations have been formed for the purpose of destroying, through fair means or foul, persons and institutions dedicated to a "new deal" in human relations. At times these secret organizations have been composed of religious fanatics who regarded their opponents as the destroyers of "true religion." Sometimes, as in the case of the Ku Klux Klan of the Reconstruction days, they have been animated with the desire to keep men and women of other races, the Negroes in particular, "in their place." At other times, they have been class groups anxious to keep in check the workers who threatened their class privileges, or political groups anxious to gain or retain the control of governmental machinery. Violence, kidnapping, shooting and killing have been frequently employed by these outlaw organizations in disposing of their enemies. In the name of "law and order," of "American patriotism," of "religious purity," they have trampled upon every Constitutional guarantee of free assembly, free speech and free press.

At times, these associations, operating "without due process of law," are more virulent than at other periods. During the days of the Alien and Sedition Laws in the late eighteenth century; in the Reconstruction days following the Civil War; in the period (1917-1921) during and after the World War, these outlaw organizations flourished. The Ku Klux Klan likewise had a brief period of marked activity in the twenties, while, in the present depression, with its unrest and its drive toward labor organization, groups of men and women have utterly disregarded the rights of their fellow-men and have, in scores of cases, resorted to violence and bloodshed. The kidnapping and killing of Joseph Shoemaker, near Tampa, Florida by those closely associated with the Ku Klux Klan; the arrest and long imprisonment of Angelo Herndon in Georgia; the brutal persecution of the share-croppers of Arkansas; the military rule in Terre Haute; the outrages perpetrated by vigilantes in California and by the Black Legion in Michigan—all testify to the danger to American liberty inherent in

these attempts at suppression and to the existence of threatening fascist trends in this country. It is of the utmost importance that every effort be made to combat all trends toward fascism and to widen the channels through which peaceful progress may be made.

Questions for Individual and Group Discussion

1. What rights are guaranteed to the people of the United States by the Federal Constitution and the constitutions of the various states?
2. Were these rights endangered by the passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws in 1789? What did the people of the country do about these laws and regarding the party that passed them?
3. To what extent were the rights of the Negro and of organized labor observed during the nineteenth century?
4. Is the doctrine of "due process of law" observed during war times?
5. Has the phrase "due process of law" in the Constitution been usually employed for or against labor?
6. How did civil liberties fare during the World War and in its immediate aftermath?
7. What were the principal infringements of civil liberties during the twenties?
8. What have been the principal attempts to interfere with the civil liberties of the people during the present depression? What attempts have been made in your community?
9. What has been the history of the Ku Klux Klan? What is its present status? What is the Black Legion of Michigan? What "Shirt" organizations now exist?
10. What forces are back of vigilantes, Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations in the United States? Are these organizations motivated chiefly by religious, racial, national or class antipathies? Who finances them? To what extent are big business interests encouraging them?

11. What should progressive, labor and farmer forces in the community do to undermine the influence of these outlaw groups? What legislation should be passed? What rescinded?
12. What changes in society would provide the most satisfactory solution of this problem?

Projects for Action

1. Procure from Council for Social Action, 289 4th Avenue, New York City, civil liberties study packet which contains American Civil Liberties Union pamphlet and other material.
2. Help stage "Ritual of the Land," a dramatic responsive service about sharecroppers, in church or school.
3. Arrange local observance of National Sharecroppers Week, Feb. 8-14, which is sponsored jointly by the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and the Workers Defense League. Program material may be secured at Room 1106, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

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V. Empire Building and War

IN PAST centuries numerous countries have devoted themselves to the building of Empires with a view to expanding their markets for trade and investment; obtaining a larger share of the raw materials of the world; securing territory for their "surplus" population; obtaining jobs in the colonial service for their intelligentsia; enlarging their country's power and prestige; diverting attention from unrest at home; and making their respective nations more "secure" in time of war.

In their crusades for new territory European countries have likewise contended that they were engaged in a humanitarian task of carrying civilization to a backward people, and were, in the name of civilization, assuming "the white man's burden."

Great Britain, France, Russia and the United States some time ago completed their Empire building. "Within their present territorial limits," maintain Simonds and Emeny, "these powers have reserves and resources sufficient to insure prosperity in peace, while in war they possess or can normally obtain the essentials of modern combat in adequate quantities. The primary concern of national policy in each case must therefore be to conserve what is already possessed."

Italy, Germany, Japan and other countries have recently been laying plans for territorial expansion. National desires to dominate new territory for commercial, financial and industrial advantage helped to cause the World War. The quest of Japan, Italy and Germany for additional territory and spheres of influence presents the greatest threat to peace in the world today.

During the last half century, students of history and economics have asked whether imperialistic adventures abroad have actually paid in terms of dollars and cents; whether trade has actually followed the flag; whether colonies in reality have provided homes for the so-called surplus population; whether the possession of adequate raw materials within an empire has actually meant greater national welfare.

Norman Angell and others have answered these questions with an emphatic negative. Others argue that great material advantages may be reaped by countries engaged in imperialist adventures. Still others

claim that though few material advantages result, the enlargement of a nation's territory satisfies the thirst of many ruling classes and individuals for prestige and power, and that the desire for power and prestige is likely to operate in the future as in the past in fomenting new wars unless it is curbed by the militant opposition of the masses who have all to lose and nothing to gain from war. The question as to how the drive toward war may be most effectively checked is a crucial problem.

Questions for Individual and Group Discussion

1. How did Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States in past centuries build an Empire?
2. What were the chief drives back of Empire building in the past?
3. What are the specific territorial ambitions of Italy, Germany, Japan and other countries?
4. What costs, military and otherwise, enter into the maintenance of an Empire after it is built? Do these costs outweigh possible advantages from trade, financial and industrial concessions, etc.?
5. Are the present imperialist ventures of fascist nations essentially different from those in past centuries of Great Britain and other "democratic" capitalist countries? If so, in what way?
6. Are international agreements in regard to trade, the allocation of raw materials and investments likely to lessen the urge toward the expansion of territory now so strong in Japan, Italy, and Germany?
7. How can the League of Nations or the World Court lessen the urge toward imperialism? What type of international organizations do you favor?
8. If Europe had carried out the proposals of the Labor and Socialist International regarding tariffs, raw materials, reparations and armaments after the World War, would it now be facing the threat of a future war?
9. What forces work toward and away from war in America?
10. Must America now spend three times more money for "preparedness" than that which was spent prior to the World War? Is

there any danger of invasion? If not, what is the object of our increased military expenditures?

11. Should the United States pass a more stringent neutrality law? What do you think of the proposed Nye-Maverick-Clark neutrality bill?
12. Was the recent Pan-American conference a help or a hindrance to world peace?
13. Has America given up imperialist ventures and adopted *in toto* the "good neighbor" policy? What recent effect has America had on the government of Cuba? What should be its future relations with Cuba, Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands, the Philippines and Hawaii?
14. Are you opposed to all war? If so, why? If not, why not?
15. Do you think that war can be eliminated under capitalism?
16. What action should be taken by labor to avoid future war? What steps by the churches? by educators? by business men? by women?
17. What would you include in an effective peace program?

Projects for Action

1. Make a survey of local peace activities. Is the work duplicated or coordinated?
2. Secure and study petition to Congress about abrogation of civil liberties in Cuba due to alleged interference of American business interests. Write Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.
3. Conduct dramatized hearing of the congressional munitions inquiry furnished by the National Council for the Prevention of War in Washington, D.C.

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● Selected Peace Periodicals

Breaking the War Habit. Committee on Militarism in Education.

Chronicle of World Affairs. League of Nations Association.

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Foreign Affairs.

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The War Resister. War Resisters League.

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VI. America Faces the Future

Do We Need a Labor Party?

DURING the last century and a half the United States has developed from a small nation of 4,000,000 population devoted largely to agriculture and trade, to a country containing over 125,000,000 people and supporting a highly complex industrial system which is dominated by great corporations, trusts and combines.

Since the formation of the country, we have passed from the hand-craft stage of development to the steam and electrical age. Our national wealth has increased many fold. Productivity of labor has multiplied. The few possess wealth unparalleled in human history. Millions live in poverty. Unjust inequality of wealth, insecurity, autocratic control of industry, and the menace of war are continuing evils in our national life.

At the beginning our small business enterprises were left comparatively free from government regulation. Our philosophy was that "that government governs best that governs least." It is true that business asked the aid of the government in its fight against foreign manufacturers and traders and against labor organizations, but in general, it urged a "hands off" policy.

This policy of *laissez-faire* was continued, for the most part, during the last half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth when small scale enterprise steadily gave way to giant corporate enterprise and the stage of monopoly capitalism arrived.

During this era of unregulated capitalism, our national wealth increased many times. The productivity of labor multiplied. But poverty, insecurity, autocratic control of industry, war and threats of war were continuing evils in our national life.

Today millions voice their conviction that *laissez-faire* capitalism cannot solve our pressing social problems. Many urge an increasing regulation of industry as the way out. The New Deal is an attempt to proceed from a largely unregulated to a regulated system of monopoly-capitalism.

In the waging of the struggle for more equitable distribution useful workers of hand and brain are organizing in trade and industrial organizations; in consumers' and producers' cooperatives; in educational and political groups.

The most direct struggle for the attainment of a new social order is likely to be on the political field. Today Socialist, Communist, labor and farmer-labor groups dedicated to a cooperative order are at work. There is a mounting demand for an inclusive farmer-labor party organized on a national scale and looking forward to fundamental social change. This demand is likely to increase greatly in volume and effectiveness within the next few years.

Through such political groups and other organizations a demand grows for amendments to the Constitution giving Congress express power to pass social legislation and to socialize industry and a growing demand for an adequate system of social insurance, for minimum wages, a shorter work week, a comprehensive system of public works and of slum clearance, a system of taxation based on ability to pay, public ownership of public utilities, the extension of civil rights, and a frontal attack on the causes of war.

Will this struggle be a peaceful and democratic struggle? Will it be interrupted by attempts toward some types of fascism and war? These are problems of the utmost importance to all Americans as they face the future.

Questions for Individual and Group Discussion

1. What economic and social changes has America witnessed in the past?
2. What are the principal social problems that America must solve?
3. What peaceful instruments of social change are available to Americans for the solution of these problems on the political, industrial, cooperative and educational fields? How effectively have these instruments been used in the past? What should immediately be done to strengthen these agencies?
4. What is the strength and the prospect of the leftist parties in your community? In the nation? How strong is the demand for a labor party or a farmer-labor party?
5. What kind of a labor party do you think desirable? Should it contain on its executive board representatives of trade unions, cooperatives, Socialist, Communist and educational groups? Should it have a working class base? Should it be controlled by

organized labor? Should it have a program of production for use? Should it include the farmers? The "intellectuals"? Should it be national? Should it be modeled after the British Labor party?

6. What dangers must it avoid?
7. What changes should be urged in the Constitution of the United States and of the various states? What legislation should be immediately urged in city, state and nation?
8. How can the channels of democratic action be kept open while changing the social order? How can we strengthen democratic forces in America?
9. What are the prospects of keeping out of war in another world war? How can we bolster the anti-war forces? Can the evils of unemployment, autocratic control and war be solved under capitalism?
10. What type of society do you think America should strive to attain?

Projects for Action

1. Arrange a public panel discussion in which various third party representatives can present their views about a labor party.
2. Circulate a questionnaire among selected groups asking for suggested planks in a labor party platform. Tabulate and compare results.
3. Suggest to student groups that they debate such a question as, "Resolved: That a national labor party in America is desirable."

Suggested Readings

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